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Coins of the Muhammadan Kings of Gujarát.—By E. E. OLIVER, Esq.

(With 3 Plates.)

Looking over a large number of coins belonging to Mr. Furdoonjee, an enthusiastic numismatist of Bombay—in which Presidency he had exceptional opportunities for collecting the coins of the old Muhammadan dynasty of Gujarát—I find a good number that do not appear in the British Museum Catalogue, nor in the list given by Thomas, and that, so far as I am aware, have not yet been described. Supplemented with some from my own cabinet, I have filled two or three plates, which may be interesting in continuation of those described by Mr. Poole from the National Collection.

It is unnecessary to attempt any sketch of the dynasty, that for over a century and a half, ruled the destinies of Gujarát. One of the principal of those Muhammadan States that sprung from the ruins of Muhammad ibn Tughlaq's declining empire; and maintained more or less of splendour and of power, till they were onco again reduced to provinces of Dehlí by Akbar. A useful general outline of the leading events is given in Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's introduction to the volume in the British Museum series above referred to, treating of the minor Muhammadan States; and the late Sir Edward Clive Bayley in his volume on the history of Gujarát, has brought together the more inter-

esting particulars as told by the native historians in the *Mirát-i-Ahmadí* and the *Mirát-i-Sikandarí*.

In both, however, there is a little blank between the assassination of Maḥmúd III., and the final incorporation of the State into the Mughal Empire. This is a period regarding which most historians are silent; probably for the very excellent reasons, that there are no very accurate materials, and the accounts of native writers are somewhat conflicting, while it is perfectly accurate and more easy to sum up the whole, as being "thirty years of anarchy."

Briefly, the outline of those thirty years of anarchy is somewhat as follows: Maḥmúd III was murdered by a slave named Burhán in Maḥmúdábád, on the 12th Rabí'u-l-awwal, 961 H. (the eve of the 13th according to the *Mirát-i-Sikandarí*), which slave in addition entrapped and killed some twelve of the chief Gujarrát nobles. Among those sagacious enough not to fall into Burhán's trap was one I'timád Khán. Originally a Hindú servant, this I'timád, whose name may be taken to signify "trusted," had risen under Maḥmúd to a most confidential position. His master even allowed him to enter the harem, and had put him in charge of the women. He had been made an Amír, and is spoken of as "prime minister." The morning after the murder, I'timád collected a few followers, killed Burhán, managed to pacify the city and restore order. It was to him that the court of Maḥmúdábád instinctively looked, to act as regent and to set about finding a successor to the throne. There seems little doubt, however, that whoever might be the nominal successor, I'timád determined to retain the substance of power in his own hands; and for the whole thirty years he was really the "king-maker" in the back-ground.

The accounts as to the actual arrangements made by him vary somewhat. According to the *Áin-i-Akbarí*, he raised Raḥíu-l-Mulk, "a son of Sulṭán Ahmad, the founder of Ahmadábád," to the throne. But Sulṭán Ahmad the first died in 846 H., 115 years before; and Raḥí is spoken of as "very young!" The more probable version is given in the *Mirát-i-Sikandarí*, the author of which, Sikandarí ibn Muḥammad, was born in 961 H.; and relates that the nobles having concerted together, asked I'timád Khán, who was acquainted with the Sulṭán's domestic affairs, whether the Sulṭán had left any son, or if any of the Sulṭán's wives were expecting a child: if so, they would wait till the child's birth before deciding on any arrangements regarding the kingdom. I'timád said no; the Sulṭán had not left any son, nor were any of his wives expecting a child. As he was well acquainted with the Sulṭán's affairs, and denied the possibility of any direct heir, they then asked him if there was any relative of the late Sulṭán who was fit to

succeed to the throne, whom they might select. I'timád Khán replied that there was a relative of the Sultán at Aḥmadábád, whose name was Aḥmad Khán; they might send for him. Accordingly they sent Amír Raḥíu-l-mulk to fetch the boy. When Raḥí came to Aḥmad Khán's house, the boy was standing at a grain-dealer's shop close by his own door, and was bringing away in the skirt of his dress some grain which he had bought for his pigeons. Raḥíu-l-mulk recognised him, got out of the cart, carried him off, and placing him in it, turned it round, and drove off, with very fast horses, to Maḥmúdábád. The Khán's nurse wept, and made a disturbance, saying: "What is this? Where are you going to take him?" Raḥíu-l-Mulk called out: "I am going to take him to a place where all the world will to-morrow crowd round his house, and where he will not find one friend."

The Amír's prophecy proved true. The boy king's career was a short and a sad one. He was placed on the throne on the 15th Rabí'u-l-awwal 961 H. as Aḥmad II.; the affairs of state meanwhile remaining entirely in I'timád's hands. On the coins he calls himself "Qaṭbu-d-dín, the son of Maḥmúd," titles also adopted by the succeeding puppet. Five years later Aḥmad is described as flying from his capital for refuge with one of his courtiers, but as brought back defeated. On another occasion he tried other means to get rid of his powerful minister, when the latter, beginning to feel insecure, decided to get rid of the king. One account says I'timád killed him, another that Aḥmad was found murdered outside the Palace walls on the 5th Sha'bán 968 H.

Having got rid of Aḥmad, I'timád now raised a child named Nathú to the throne, "who did not belong to the line of kings," but who he swore was a son of Maḥmúd's. The mother, when pregnant, had been handed over to him to make her miscarry, but, the child being five months old, he had not carried out the order. The nobles had to swallow this new variety of the story, and Nathú was placed on the throne as Muzaḥfar III.

It was the old story of a nominal king under a powerful minister, who was the real head of the Government, and who, though several of the Amírs had secured portions of the country and declined to recognise his authority, had become practically independent. In the account of the divisions and revenues of Gujarát, given in the *Mirát-i-Aḥmadi*, I'timád's establishment and income is shown in 979 H. as all but equal to the nominal kings; he having 9,000 horse and 30 *krops* of "tankchahs," against Muzaḥfar's 10,000 horse and 33 *krops* of tankchahs; the remainder of a total of 30,000 horse and 90 *krops* of tankchahs, being divided amongst some half dozen nobles. The result was incessant feuds. In 980 Akbar was invited by I'timád to occupy Gujarát, and

took possession of the capital on the 14th Rajab of that year. From then both the minister and king figure frequently in the accounts of campaigns under both Akbar and his generals. I'timád and other Gujarát nobles proclaimed Akbar's accession from the pulpits of the mosques, and struck coin in his name, for which loyalty Baroda, Champánir, and Súrat, were given to the former as *tuyúl*, but subsequently he fell into disgrace and was made a prisoner. In 982 H. he had been released and was in charge of the imperial jewels. Two years after he went to Makkah, and on his return obtained Patan as a *jágír*. In 990 H. he was put in charge of Gujarát as governor, in succession to Shihábu-d-dín, but the latter's forces rebelled, and went over to Muzaffar, who in I'timád's absence took Ahmadábád, and set up as ruler again in 991 H. Shortly after I'timád went to Patan, where he died in 995 H.

Muzaffar abdicated in favour of Akbar in 980 H., when he was in the first instance sent to Agrá, but subsequently remanded to close confinement. Some nine years after he escaped, and returning to Gujarát, collected a respectable force, defeated and slew Akbar's general Qutbu-d-dín Khán, and reascended the throne 991 H. (1583 A. D.). Akbar then deputed Mírzá Khán Khánán, the son of Bairám, to retake Gujarát. Muzaffar was defeated the same year in a couple of pitched battles, and fled to Júnágáñh in Kattywár. There he was pursued by another of Akbar's generals Mírzá Khán-i-'A'zam, who hunted him down and captured him in Kachh in 999 H. No sooner was Muzaffar handed over to the Mírzá than he asked permission to retire for a minute, and took the opportunity to cut his throat with a razor. With him terminated the dynasty of the Muhammadan kings of Gujarát, the kingdom then becoming a province of Delhi. The coin No. XXXI is especially interesting as having been struck during the year in which, for a brief period, Muzaffar managed to re-establish himself in Gujarát.

In the British Museum Catalogue there is a coin of 963, ascribed to Muḥammad, a pretender, and No. XXVIII of the series now published would seem to have somewhat similar titles and dates and also claim to be struck by a son of Maḥmúd, viz. on the Rev. *Qutbu-d-dín Muḥammad Sháh, (bin) as-Sulṭán* x 63, and on the Obr. *Náṣiru-d-dunyá-wa-d-dín Abu-l-Faṭḥ Maḥmúd Sháh*. On the other hand it is very similar in character to No. IX of Maḥmúd Sháh I, the son of Muḥammad, and the reading might be reversed, x being 8 instead of 9, but Muḥammad I. called himself *Ghyáṣu-d-dín* and not *Qutbu-d-dín*. I have not been able to trace any historical reference to the so-called "Pretender."

In order to facilitate comparison of dates, descent, or contemporary rulers, I add a genealogical tree of the Gujarát kings, and a table shewing the contemporary rules in Málwá, Jaunpur, Kandaish, the Dekkan

and Dehlí, taken from Poole's very handy graphic scheme of the Muhammadan dynasties of India.

(See Plates I—III.)

Of Ahmad Sháh I. I noticed in Mr. Furdoonjee's collection similar coins to the British Museum No. 408, but with the mint Ahmadábád for the years 832, 6, 842, 3*, and similar to No. 411 also with mint Ahmadábád, years 830-1-7. Of Ghiyásu-d-dín Muhammad Karím Sháh the Museum list gives no dated specimens. Thomas records 849, 850 and (?) 856. The three now figured read 852, 3 and 5, the last named having the same inscription as in Thomas. The Museum catalogues no silver representative of Mahmúd Sháh *Bígará*, the famous Sultán of the moustachios. Thomas refers to three, of 891, 903 and 911. Neither give any mints: in fact, with one doubtful exception, none of the Gujarát series in the Museum catalogue are minted. In the list now given are silver coins of 864-7 (8)70, 909; Ahmadábád, 900, 903, and 911. In some cases the date is in words. The Museum list has two gold coins of Muza'ffar Sháh II. Thomas's copper coins are dated 922-3-4 and 8. The one now figured is dated 929. Two others have no name but may perhaps be put down to him (?), Ahmadnagar (9)17 and 922.

The inscription on No. XVIII of Bahádur Sháh appears to agree with No. 427 of the Museum, but I note the years 938 and 939. Mahmúd Sháh III. bin Latíf is unrepresented in the Museum catalogue. Thomas gives the years 946, 7 and 9. Among these now figured are the years 945, 7 and 960. The suppositious king Ahmad II. is represented in the Museum catalogue by one copper coin; Thomas gives the dates 961—8. In the present list are the dates 961, in silver, x x 2, 963 and 8. Muza'ffar Sháh III. in the Museum and in Thomas is represented by the dates 969, 971-7-8-9 and 930. The present list adds 991.

It is also worth while adding that among Mr. Furdoonjee's dated Bahmani coins, I notice, Ahmad Sháh I. like the Museum No. 454, the years, 836 and 828. Like the Museum No. 461, the years 843-5-6, 850-2-6. Like No. 467, the years 839, 842-3 and 850. Muhammad Sháh II. like No. 474, the years 863, 877 and 875, and a fine silver coin of (?) Ahsanábád of x 77 figured in the present list as No. XXXIV. A coin of his, figured as No. XXXV, also appears a novelty.

* The above dates are all A. H.

Genealogical tree of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarát.

1. ZAFAR KHÁN. Appointed Governor from Dehlí 791. Assumed independence at Anhalwára 799 as Muzaffar Sháh I. Died 814.
- Tátár KHÁN.
- Tátár KHÁN.
2. AHMAD I. Náşiru-d-dín, 814 to 846. Founded Ahmadábád and extended his dominions considerably.
3. MUHAMMAD, I. Ghiyáşu-d-dín, Karím Sháh, 846 to 855. Given up to pleasure and ease.
5. DAÚD, reigned 7 days in 863.
4. QUTBU-D-DÍN, Ahmad Sháh, 855 to 863.
6. MAHMÚD I., Bigará, 863 to 917. The most famous of the line, founded Mahmudábád, took Júnágarh and Champánir.
7. MUZAFFAR II., 917 to 932.
8. SIKANDAR, 932, murdered after a reign of 46 days.
9. MAHMÚD II., 932, a child called Náşir KHÁN.
10. BAHÁDUR, daughter 'Adil Latíf KHÁN married to KHÁN of Kandaish.
11. Mirán MUHAMMAD FÁRÚQÍ originally called Ásirí, 943.
12. MAHMÚD III., 944 to 961.
13. AHMAD SHÁH II., 961 to 968.
14. MUZAFFAR SHÁH III., 969 to 980, when Gujarát submitted to Akbar, but Muzaffar ruled for a short time again in 991.*

Contemporary Rulers in

A. H.	Gujarát.	Málwá.	Jaunpur.	Kandaish.	Dekkan.	Dehlí.
795	....	....	....	....	....	Maímúd II.
796	....	....	Khawájah i Jahán.	....	....	..
797	....	....	....	....	....	Nagrat.
799	Muzaffar I.	....	....	....	Ghiyáşu-d- dín.	....

* The above dates are all A. H.

A. H.	Gujarát.	Málwa.	Jaunpur.	Kandaish.	Dekkan.	Dehlí.
799	....	....	....	....	Shamsn-d- dín.	....
800	....	....	....	....	Táju-d-dín Fírúz.	....
802	....	....	Mubárah.	Násir.	....	Maḥmúd II.
803	....	....	Ibráhim.	....	....	....
804	....	Diláwar	....	....	....	....
808	....	Hushang.	....	....	....	....
814	Aḥmad I.	....	....	....	....	....
815	....	....	....	....	....	Daulat Khén Lodí.
817	....	....	....	....	....	Khizr Khán.
824	....	....	....	....	....	Mubárah II.
825	....	....	....	....	Aḥmad I.	....
837	....	....	....	....	....	Muḥammad IV.
838	....	Muḥammad.	....	....	Aḥmad II.	....
839	....	Maḥmúd I.	....	....	....	....
841	....	....	....	'Ádil.	....	....
844	....	....	Maḥmúd.	....	....	....
845	....	....	....	Mubárah I.	....	....
846	Muḥd. Karím.	....	....	....	....	....
847	....	....	....	....	....	'Alím.
855	Qutubn-d-dín.	....	....	....	....	Bahlol Lodí.
861	....	....	Muḥam- mad.	Ghaní.	....	....
862	....	....	....	....	Humáyún.	....
863	Dáúd.	....	....	Husain.	....	....
863	Maḥmúd I.	....	....	....	....	....
865	....	....	....	....	Nizám.	....
867	....	....	....	....	Muḥammad II.	....
880	....	Ghiyás Sháh.	....	....	....	....
881	....	....	Becomes part of Dehlí.	....	....	....
887	....	....	....	....	Maḥmúd II.	....
894	....	....	....	....	Becomes split up into small provinces.	Sikandar II.
906	....	Násir Sháh.	....	....	....	....
909	....	....	....	Dáúd.	....	....
916	....	Maḥmúd II.	....	A'zam Hn- má'yún.	....	....
917	Muzaffar II.	....	....	....	....	....
923	....	....	....	....	....	Ibráhim II.
926	....	....	....	Muḥam- mad I.	....	....
930	....	....	....	....	....	Bábar.
932	Sikandar.	....	....	....	....	....
932	Maḥmúd II.	....	....	....	....	....
932	Bahádur.	....	....	....	....	....
937	....	Becomes part of Gujarát.	....	....	....	....
935	....	....	....	....	....	Humáyún.
942	....	....	....	Mubárah II.	....	....

A. H.	Gujarat.	Málwa.	Jannpur.	Kandaish.	Dekkan.	Dehli.
943	Muhammad Fárúqi.			....		....
944	Mahmúd III.			....		....
946	....			....		Sher Sháh.
952	....			....		Islám Sháh.
960	....			....		'Adil Sháh.
961	Ahmad II.			....		Ibráhím Súr.
962	....			....		Humáyún.
963	....			....		Akbar.
969	Muzaffar III.			....		....
974	....			Muhammad II.		....
980	Becomes a province of Dehli.			....		....

Ghiásu-d-dín Muhammad Karím Sháh.

I. Æ .65 64 grains. No mint. 855 H.

غياث الدين || والدين ... محمد شاه || سلطان ٨٥٥

Compare Thomas, page 353.

II. Æ .70 140 grains.

غياث الدين || سلطان الاعظم || والدين ... ابراهيم محمد شاه || السلطان 8 (5) 2 H.

سلطان الاعظم || والدين ٨ [٥] ٢

III. Æ .65 72 grains.

غياث الدين || والدين ... سلطان || محمد شاه ٨٥ 853 H.

Mahmúd Sháh I.

IV. R .80 165 grains: (P) Ahmadábád. 911 H.

السلطان || شاه شاه || محمود In square ابراهيم

ناصر الدنيا والدين || بن محمد

margin .. ذيد عمر .. ||

٩١١ || ||

V. R .65 88 grains.

The same as No. IV, but without margin.

VI. R .70 87 grains. Ahmadábád. 900 H.

السلطان || محمود شاه In lozenge

margin سنوب محمد ابراهيم ..

[عرواحه] سنه ٩٠٠

- VII. $\text{AR } \cdot 70$ 85 grains. Ahmadábád. 903 H.
 Obv. same as No. IV. In lozenge السلطان || محمود شاه
 margin [صر .. صر] ضرب
 حمد اباد [عروحاتمانه] ۹۰۳
 909 H.
- VIII. $\text{AR } \cdot 70$ 88 grains.
 Obv. as No. IV, with 909 H. Rev., variety of No. IV.
- Ditto. $\text{AR } \cdot 50$ 42 grains. No date or mint Mr. Furdoonjee.
- IX. $\text{AR } \cdot 70$ 146 grains. No mint. [8]64, [8]67 H. Ditto.
 ناصرالدنيا || والدين ابو || الفتح
 محمود شاه || بن محمود شاه ||
 السلطان ۶۴ [۸]
- X. $\text{AR } \cdot 70$ 173 grains. No mint. (8)70 H. Ditto.
 Obv. as No. IX. In circle السلطان || محمود شاه
 margin .. سبعمين و لما نما
- XI. $\text{AE } \cdot 85$ 250 grains. Ditto.
 توكل على || الحنان المنان
 .. - بول .. ا .. ي
 محمود شاه || بن محمود شاه
 || السلطان
- XII. $\text{AE } \cdot 85$ 245 grains.
 .. لمؤيد بنصر [الله] الم- ..
 .. بولغا .. ي
 كلیم الله .. لسلطان || محمود س.
- XIII. $\text{AE } \cdot 75$ 160 grains.
 لمتو ... || الله القو ... || الغني
 محمود شه .. || بن محمود شه ..
- XIV. $\text{AE } \cdot 65$ 140 grains.
 .. لسلطان الاعظ . || ناصر الدنيا
 || [والدين]
 .. [سلطان] ..

Muzaffar Sháh II.

- XV. $\text{AE } \cdot 70$ 169 grains. 929 H. Mr. Furdoonjee
 شه ... لدنيا ... || ۹۶۹ || ابوالنص- ...
 السلطان || محمود شاه || بن
 مظفر شاه
- *XVI. $\text{AE } \cdot 75$ 160 grains. 922 H.
 في شهر || ۹۲۲ || سنة
 .. شهو ..

* Doubtful coins.

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*XVII. \mathcal{A} 65 143 grains, (?) Almadnagar (9) 17 H.

.. مرتضى || احمد [نلر] في شهر || سنة || ١٧ [٩]

Bahádur Sháh.

XVIII. \mathcal{A} 75 175 grains.

939 H.

.. ص... لدنيا ... لد .. بن ٩٣٩

السلطان || مظفر شاه || بن || بهادر

.. ل . ظ . ف .

شاه

Compare No. 427, British Museum Catalogue.

Mahmúd Sháh III.

XIX. \mathcal{A} 80 180 grains.

Mr. Fardoonjee.

.. الواثق با [الله] ..

[السلطان] شاه شا .. [محمود]

.. ل ل

.. لطيف || शौराज

XX. \mathcal{A} 70 142 grains.

Ditto.

... صر الدنيا || والدين ابو ||

محمود بن || لطيف شاه || السلطان

XXI. \mathcal{A} 80 159 grains.

945 H. Ditto.

... قطب الدنيا والدين || ابو الفضل

السلطان || شاه شاه || محمود [شاه]

٩٤٥

بن لطيف

XXII. \mathcal{A} 70 137 grains.

960 H. Ditto.

.. -و . ثق .. لمع ... || اسف ...

.. لسلطان || شاه شاه || محمود

|| لدنيا و الدين ابو

بن لطيف ٩٦٥

XXIII. \mathcal{A} 55 69 grains.

السلطان || شاه شاه || محمود بن

الواثق بالله المنان || مس

.. ل ل

لطيف

XXIV. \mathcal{A} 55 71 grains.

957 H.

... صر . لدنيا || ٩٥٧ || لدن

شاه || محمود

Almad Sháh II.

XXV. \mathcal{A} 85 164 grains.

961 H.

الرحمن بالله || ابو المعتمد المعتمد

In double سلطان || شاه شاه || عهد

الدنيا و الدين || غياث

lozenge || احمد بن محمود ٩٦١

* Doubtful coins.

XXVI. Æ 55 73 grains. 968 H. Mr. Furdoonjee.
 نيا .. || ... عصه مـ ... سلطان || شاه سه ... || حه ..
 .. والدين ابو... بن مـ ...

XXVII. Æ 70 140 grains. **2. *63. Ditto.
 .. || اخليفه || اميرالمومنين || قطب الد... || والدين احده ه
 خلف .. سلطان .. ||

Muhammad Sháh (?) Pretender.

XXVIII. R 70 144 grains. *63. Ditto.
 ناصرالدنيا و - لدين ابو الفتح [... ان] قطب ... || بن محمد شاه ||
 .. مـ .. ود... سلطان ۶۳

Compare copper coins 437—9 in B. M. Catalogue.

Muzaffar Sháh III.

XXIX. R 60 73 grains. 978
 المؤيد بقا... الرحمه... || شاه مظفر ||
 .. شمـ... الد... श्रीराज

XXX. R 70 73 grains. 97*.
 Obv. Inscription as No. XXIX. ... سلطان || مظفر شاه ||
 महाराज

R 50 36 grains. Ditto. Mr. Furdoonjee.

XXXI. R 85 175 grains. 991 H. Ditto.
 In square لاله الالهه || محمد لاله
 || رسول الله || مظفر شاه || ابن محمود شاه ||
 margin || ابو... || الرحمه || شاه || ۹۹۱ سلطان
 .. ماع... لعل... علي... || ... مظ ...

XXXII. Æ 75 179 grains. 977 H.
 شمس الدنيا || والدين || مظفرشاه ۹۷۷

Muhammad Sháh II., Bahmaní. [doonjee.

XXXIII. R 95 166 grains. (?) Ahsanábád. x77. Mr. Fur-
 .. المعتمه... [بالله] || محمد شـ... || همايونش.
 والمظفر شمس... || السلطان ذا... خلك...
 margin || [ا...]

Maḥmúd Sháh II., Bahmaní.

XXXIV. A 70 146 grains.

المريد || بنصر

... || ...

Ruins and Antiquities of Rámpál.—By ASUTOSH GUPTA, Esq., C. S.*

Unlike Upper India, studded with monuments of ancient history, the Delta of the Ganges presents few places of interest to the antiquarian. Lower Bengal is generally as devoid of picturesque scenery as of objects of antiquarian interest. We have all heard of Saptagrāma and Suvarṇakāragrāma and their once flourishing commerce with the West, but what remains to show their ancient greatness? No Colossus, no Forum, not even a Hindú temple. Still there are a few places here and there, such as Gauṛ and Nadiyá, which cannot fail to be of interest to the diligent antiquarian or the student of history, and Rámpál is one of them. It is not so widely known as it deserves to be. It is now a straggling hamlet, situated approximately in Lat. 23° 38' and Long. 90° 32' 10", being about four miles to the west of Munshígánj, the head-quarters of the subdivision of that name in the district of Dacca (Dháká), corresponding with the old fiscal division of Vikrámpur. It was the seat of the old Sen kings of Bengal, and notably of Ballál Sen, whose name has been handed down to posterity as the founder of Kulinism in Bengal.

Such is the case with Rámpál and the dynasty that reigned here. The ruins, as the sequel will show, are not so important and interesting as in Gauṛ and a few other places in Bengal. But there is abundant evidence to show that Rámpál was once a royal city. The large Rámpál Dighí or the artificial lake of Rámpál, the huge mound, to which tradition points as the Bárí or the palace of Ballál Sen, the very broad roads and the existence of innumerable bricks which can be found buried under the earth wherever you dig in Rámpál and its environs, are unmistakable indications of a ruined city of palaces. Old bricks of small size were found in such abundance in and around Rámpál, that they were carried in vast quantities to Dacca for build-

* [Compare with this paper General Sir A. Cunningham's account of the same sites and legends, in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. XV, pp. 132—135. The two accounts differ in some minor details. Ed.]